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to carry through. It is the story of the successful efforts of Thomas de Marleberge, of whom we may read in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which, by the way, to its infinite credit, prints a small volume of errata and thus honestly owns to errors and corrects them.

The vast correspondence of Innocent III was doubtless the source of this volume of Luchaire. We wish he had so stated, and that he had given references, as the correspondence of Innocent fills three volumes of the Migne reprint. The absence of such apparatus may have been due to the publisher who probably put the yellow paper cover on the book and made it look like a novel. It is, however, anything but fiction, being the work of a scholar who has gone to the sources for his facts, though he does excel many novelists in the number of good stories he has to relate of this lively pope, who wanted to have his finger in every pie and felt perfectly competent to rule the universe. Luchaire restricts himself to one land, but manifestly the pope who in this volume is found assigning husbands to marriageable females and tongue-lashing into silence refractory Italian villages and towns, is the same as he who in his world-politics browbeat Philippe Auguste of France, Alfonso IX of Castile, Peter of Aragon, and the more familiar John of England. Petty beyond comparison were many of the matters submitted to "the Oracle", as Luchaire calls Innocent III, but answers on all topics were forthcoming and, thanks to the letters having been dictated, they cost the honest, patient, and well-meaning pope no great amount of time.

What Friedrich Hurter, the classic historian of Innocent III, could not find, Luchaire, more fortunate, presents, namely, a contemporary portrait of this pope—in fact two, one from a mosaic and one from a fresco. It is to be regretted that the third contemporary portrait is not given. Luchaire has an interesting excursus on the portraits of Innocent III and thus brings this valuable book to a fitting close.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON.

Die Doppelhehe des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen. Von Lic. WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL, Instruktor der Theologie in Andover, Massachusetts. (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1904. Pp. xx, 374.)

THIS volume is one which will prove of value to the student of the Reformation period, for the episode with which it has to do was of far-reaching political significance, as well as curiously illustrative of a confusion of moral judgments brought about by the general unsettlement of hitherto accepted convictions incident to the Reformation age. That the foremost political leader among the princes who early supported the Reformation, the one among them all who saw most clearly the necessity of political coöperation for the advancement of the cause, and the one who had probably the most intelligent and appreciative sense of the principles for which the Reformation stood, should suddenly be isolated, and should become a divisive instead of a uniting force in Protestant ranks, being bent to the policy of Charles V. instead of standing as the

emperor's strongest opponent, and that these untoward results should have been the consequences of so unusual an act as a bigamous marriage, is certainly one of the tragedies of the Reformation age.

Mr. Rockwell's investigation has evidently been extremely painstaking and his study of the material on which a judgment of the course of events, or of the merits of the questions involved, can be based, is the most elaborate and exhaustive that has yet been attempted. The work is one in every way creditable to Mr. Rockwell's patience and scholarship, and, as such, is an excellent example of the application to a historical problem of careful methods of investigation. Many valuable, though relatively minor, modifications of earlier presentations are reached; yet the story, though far more adequately told, is still largely the same as it appears under the treatment of Professor Max Lenz in the fifth volume of the *Publicationen aus den königlichen Preussischen Staatsarchiven*. Mr. Rockwell is able to show, for the first time, that the famous Wittenberg Advice of December 10, 1539, was not composed by Melanchthon, whose approval, with that of Luther, it bore, but was drafted by Justus Winter, a Hessian theologian, and that Melanchthon did little more than copy out the form thus submitted to him in the interests of the landgraf. He is also able to demonstrate that, when rumors of the bigamy became spread abroad, Philip called together the leading nobles of Hesse and received their pledge to support him in event of attack. These may serve as types of a considerable number of additions to and corrections of the generally accepted narrative which Mr. Rockwell's scholarly acumen have enabled him to make.

Mr. Rockwell's work is in three parts. In the first, he takes up the history of the marriage itself from the earliest evidence now discoverable of the formation of the plan by the landgraf, through the course of the negotiations with Bucer, Luther, Melanchthon, the Kurfürst Johann Friedrich of Saxony, and other nobles, to the actual marriage with Margaretha von der Sale, on March 4, 1540. From that event, he describes with graphic fullness the spread of the rumors of the bigamous union; the rising opposition, the landgraf's efforts to secure supporters, the difficult position of the reformers, the literary controversies which ensued, and Philip's settlement with the emperor. In his second part, Mr. Rockwell takes up the attitude of the Wittenberg reformers toward Philip's bigamy, and attempts to modify the critical judgment passed by Köstlin upon Luther that the Wittenberg divine's assent to Philip's second marriage was the greatest blot on Reformation history as well as on Luther's own life. He does not, indeed, undertake wholly to justify Luther's action, but to give it the kindlier explanation which he deems its due by exhibiting its motives in their true light more fully than has yet been done. That Luther should have consented that a marriage should secretly take place and then should have advised, as he did, at the meeting at Eisenach in July, 1540, four months after its occurrence, that a "good, strong lie" would be the best method of reply to the criticisms which the public

knowledge of the event excited, has always seemed a course of conduct difficult of justification. Mr. Rockwell shows plainly that Luther regarded the question from the point of view of a confessor charged with the spiritual good of the landgraf's soul. He did not look upon bigamy as a general right, but as a status that might be permitted in view of Old Testament example, under the special circumstances in which the landgraf was placed. Such permission, however, was only a dispensation before the bar of conscience and not a justification before the law. It was an allowance by a confessor to do something forbidden by law, which, nevertheless, it was for the good of the soul of the particular inquirer to do. The underlying theory was that the end of all law is the good of the soul; if that law hinders its good, exceptions may be permitted, but should not be made public, since their example would, in general, be bad. Hence Luther held himself warranted in advising a denial, as far as the general public was concerned, of facts which were well known to him in his confidential capacity. Curiously enough, from a modern Protestant point of view, Luther called to his aid, in this very question of denial of fact, the example of our Lord, saying, "I can do with good conscience as Christ in the Gospel; 'the Son knoweth not the day', and like a pious father confessor who shall and must say openly or before a court that he knows nothing regarding that which he is asked concerning secret confession, for what one knows secretly that cannot one know openly." It may be interesting to note, however, that this interpretation of Christ's declared ignorance of the day of judgment, as an intentional reticence justifying the secrecy of spiritual counsel, was not at all original with Luther, but was current in his day, for example, in the popular *Summa Angelica de Casibus Conscientiæ* of Angelo di Chiavasso, which Luther had read. Whether he can regard this explanation as affording any considerable measure of justification for Luther, the reader of Mr. Rockwell's volume will decide for himself. In the third section of his work, Mr. Rockwell presents a valuable discussion of the attitude of the Reformation age toward bigamy in general, involving an examination of the opinions of the German reformers on the matrimonial questions raised by Henry VIII; the views of Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer on bigamy; and the contemporary attitude of the Roman church, especially in regard to the power and extent of the right of papal dispensations.

WILLISTON WALKER.

A History of the English Church. Edited by the late Very Rev. W. R. W. STEPHENS, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Winchester, and the Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt. Volume V. *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1558-1625).* By W. H. FRERE. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1904. Pp. xiii, 413.)

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